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## ABSTRACT

This collection of abstracts is part of a continuing series providing information on recent doctoral dissertations. The 15 titles deal with the following topics: (1) the role of public discourse in the soil conservation movement from 1865 to 1935; (2) Dwight D. Eisenhower's public imagery of the Soviet Union and Communist China as presented in selected speeches and news conferences; (3) a computer-assisted rhetorical criticism of the messages of songwriter Harry F. Chapin; (4) Luis Munoz Marin's public persona and the exodus fantasy of the Puerto Rican commonwealth rhetorical vision; (5) rhetorical strategies used by Mary Harris "Mother" Jones within the context of the agitative rhetoric model developed by John Waite Bowers and Donovan J. Ochs; (6) southern clergy and a rhetoric of redemption for the reconstruction South; (7) the rhetorical strategies and tactics of Malcolm X; (8) foreign affairs perspectives toward revolution in El Salvador; (9) Booker T. Washington in Atlanta; (10) values expressed in the presidential speeches of John F. Kennedy; (11) women's music and the lesbian-feminist movement; (12) a rhetorical analysis of the Black Muslims; (13) the relationship between Christian conversion and the rhetoric of Malcolm Muggeridge; (14) the function of natural law warrants in the rhetorical discourse of women's suffrage from 1848 to 1920; and (15) the public speaking of progressive party Senator Hiram W. Johnson from 1866 to 1945. (HTH)

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**THE ROLE OF PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN THE SOIL  
CONSERVATION MOVEMENT, 1865-1935**

Order No. DA8512354

BASCOCK, JOHN GILBERT CHITTENDEN, Ph.D. *The University of Michigan*, 1985. 263pp. Co-Chairmen: Alfred W. Storey, C. William Colburn

This dissertation is a study of the role of public discourse in the soil conservation movement in America from 1865 to 1935 including the major issues, themes and appeals of the spokesmen in the movement.

Eleven key spokesmen were selected for study: Abraham Lincoln, Galesburg, John Wesley Powell and Carl Schurz, from 1865 to 1890, from the first major land act to the closing of the frontier; Theodore Roosevelt, George Maxwell, Francis Newlands and Gifford

Pinchot, from 1890 to 1920, when conservation became recognized and accepted as a national movement; and H. H. Bennett, George Norris and Franklin D. Roosevelt, from 1920 to 1935, when the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Civilian Conservation Corps became prominent developments.

The major issues in the movement dealt with settling of the land and the Homestead Legislation. The major appeals dealt with the need for governmental leadership, national and personal security, pride and patriotism, and preservation of family traditions on the land. Themes emphasized throughout the seventy-year span of the movement were: a balance between public versus private ownership of land; the important role for governmental control; and the need for governmental support to implement conservation.

The soil conservation movement evolved from the initial concern about distribution of land under the Homestead Act to a broad interest in the application of scientific soil methods.

Federal funding, minimal in 1865, became substantial by 1935. Public control over conservation programs expanded between 1865 and 1935 because of the influential role of public discourse.

The speakers advocated the conservation and protection of land as a vital national resource. Through their public speaking, the eleven speakers brought significant conservation principles to national attention and demonstrated how soil conservation practices in one geographic area have pronounced effects upon soil conservation in other geographical areas.

Legislation, enacted to protect and preserve the nation's natural resources, was a major outcome of the influence of the spokesmen studied in this dissertation.

**AN ANALYSIS OF DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER'S PUBLIC  
IMAGERY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA  
AS PRESENTED IN SELECTED SPEECHES AND NEWS**

CONFERENCES: 1953-1961 Order No. DA8506603

BULSYS, JOSEPH ALGIRDAS, Ph.D. *The Pennsylvania State University*, 1984. 323pp. Adviser: Richard B. Gregg

The purpose of this study was to investigate Eisenhower's role as a rhetorician when speaking about cold war affairs. The specific research question posed was: What was Eisenhower's public stance toward the Soviet Union and Communist China? Other questions the study attempted to answer were: (1) Did Eisenhower possess a singular vision of these two nations? (2) What, if any, persistent rhetorical images were projected in his public address? and, (3) Did his statements about Russia and Red China noticeably change over time?

In order to conduct the investigation several critical questions were applied to a body of Eisenhower's discourse consisting of ninety-five speeches and ninety-seven press conferences from the years 1953-1961. Once ideas and themes were distinguished, the value positions which supported verbal content were identified as idealistic, pragmatic, or casuistic. Finally, Kenneth Burke's theory of identification, more specifically his concept of cluster-agon analysis, was used to uncover "key terms."

The results of this study indicate that Dwight Eisenhower's view of cold war affairs was uncomplicated and very much in line with the common thinking of the 1950's. He perceived a world caught in an ideological struggle between the evil forces of communism and free world allies. By and large the President was pragmatic when he spoke about the Soviet Union and Communist China, but he was also driven by idealism because his most enduring image was the utopian desire to bring peace in freedom to a troubled world. From the standpoint of value orientations, Eisenhower's discourse was varied and complex since he justified his views on pragmatic, idealistic, and casuistic grounds. Furthermore, the President's imagery was remarkably consistent over a period of eight years. This demonstrates that his view of Russia and Red China was firmly established in his mind and independent of Dulles' influence, even though the two men perceived the cold war in much the same way. Because Eisenhower's imagery was his own, utterances about Russia and Red China did not change in any significant manner after the Secretary's death in 1959.

Overall the study illustrated that Eisenhower possessed a well-formed vision of cold war affairs which was clearly communicated to his listeners. While his imagery was commonplace and thus, perhaps, not particularly memorable, it was coherent, consistent, and sometimes surprisingly idealistic. (Abstract shortened with permission of author.)

**THE CRITICAL CONNECTION: A COMPUTER-ASSISTED  
RHETORICAL CRITICISM OF THE MESSAGE OF HARRY F.  
CHAPIN**

Order No. DA8515134

CAPPS, RONALD ROBERT, Ph.D. *The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col.*, 1984. 146pp. Director: John H. Patton

In this study I examine the forms, contents, and functions of the rhetoric of singer-songwriter Harry Forster Chapin, in an attempt to more fully understand rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke's assertion that his grandson was a uniquely powerful rhetorical figure who "could energize people, everyone, the world."

This study was conceived from the perspective of the "New Rhetoric," and therefore, it acknowledges that "identification" may serve as an "end" in itself. It is this willingness to accept "identification" as an "end" in itself that separates contemporary rhetorical theory from its classical counterpart.

In my effort to remain faithful to Chapin's lyrics, I chose to use a computer-assisted content analysis of the lyrical texts. The use of a personal computer and commercially available programs demonstrated the practicability of such a critical "tool" for the rhetorical critic who elects to focus directly on the text of the message itself. My use of the computer provided a heightened awareness of Chapin's reliance on words which encouraged identification and a feeling of consubstantiality through Chapin's use of words clustering around orientations of "other" and the collective bonding of man.

The balance of the dissertation focuses upon the rhetorical distinctiveness and rhetorical strategies demonstrated by Chapin's message. Three areas of rhetorical distinctiveness are explored: Chapin as a representative member of a folk-activist tradition; Chapin's development of a unique cinematic lyric style; and the ritualistic nature of the Chapin-message-audience interaction. Chapin's messages reflect two vital concerns: the common person should have an impact on social problems through a participatory democracy; and the importance of children as a source of truth and clear vision. Through his reliance on rhetorical strategies of identification, the act of overhearing speech acts, self-deprecation, repetition, and personalization of the future by his depiction of young people, Chapin coped with his rhetorical problems. These strategies allowed Chapin to provide potential avenues for change which were in keeping with the heritage and traditions of this country while addressing a generation that had grown increasingly cynical and frustrated in their efforts to promote change.



**THE METAPHORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL  
REALITY: LUIS MUÑOZ MARÍN'S PUBLIC PERSONA AND  
THE EXODUS FANTASY OF THE COMMONWEALTH  
RHETORICAL VISION** Order No. DA8512067

DELGADO, JOSEPH FIGUEROA, Ph.D. *University of Minnesota*, 1985.  
291pp.

Metaphor is the selective transfer of relational, functional and qualitative defining categories of meaning. This transfer duplicates, expands or substitutes elements in the conceptual definition of a being, thing or event, in a communicative context. In political communication this context presupposes an ideological intent. Metaphorical-transfer analysis as proposed here provides the critic information regarding the aspects and terms that are abstracted from given universes of discourse (B sets) and mapped into terms of other universes of discourse (A sets). The semantic analysis of terms and aspects then affords the critic an insight into the emotions, purposes and attitudes elicited by metaphorical concepts used by a political leader to develop the fantasy dramas which chain out in rhetorical communities that participate in a metaphorically-constructed rhetorical vision. Hence, metaphorical speech, as evident especially in the use of particular categories in metaphorical constructs, can provide clues related to rhetorical intent and the construction of reality as a dynamic sociopersonal process. Lakoff and Johnson laid preliminary groundwork for such critical efforts, and are here linked to Bormann's theory of fantasy themes and rhetorical vision.

Luis Muñoz Marín's rhetoric between 1948 and 1952 was aimed to persuade the Puerto Rican electorate of the advantages of commonwealth status over independence or statehood. He structured the commonwealth ("estado libre asociación") concept through metaphorical terms that were already available in his socio-historical context. The Bormannian and metaphorical-transfer analysis of his public speeches between 1949 and 1952 provide evidence of this. Metaphorical-transfer analysis shows that Muñoz Marín elaborated his own public persona as that of a leader in an archetypal exodus theme within the Puerto Rican autonomist fantasy type and in line with traditional Latin American Edenic, demonic and Utopian myths. Metaphorical-transfer criticism and fantasy theme analysis show constituent elements of political rhetorical visions as actually confirmatory of intracultural expectations rather than as innovative or revolutionary.

**AN EXAMINATION OF RHETORICAL STRATEGIES UTILIZED  
BY MARY HARRIS "MOTHER" JONES WITHIN THE  
CONTEXT OF THE AGITATIVE RHETORIC MODEL  
DEVELOPED BY JOHN WAITE BOWERS AND DONOVAN J.  
OCHS** Order No. DA8510791

DOWNING, CAROL ANN, Ph.D. *Ohio University*, 1985. 347pp. Director:  
Ray E. Wagner

The purpose of this study is to examine the rhetoric of Mary Harris "Mother" Jones within the context of the model developed by John Waite Bowers and Donovan J. Ochs in their book *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*.

Two methods of investigation were used. First, Mother Jones' rhetorical career was analyzed using each of the nine agitative strategies presented by Bowers and Ochs. Each category was divided into two parts: analysis of five speeches delivered by Mother Jones, and analysis of non-speech activities and impromptu remarks. This chapter utilized an altered form of the model, as Bowers and Ochs consider speeches as examples of the strategy of "Petition of the Establishment." This study examined statements within speeches that advocated or evidenced other strategies of agitation. The second part of the analysis involved a more traditional application of the Bowers and Ochs model. One rhetorical activity, led by Mother Jones, was examined from its inception to its conclusion. This activity, commonly known as the March of the Mill Children, was an attempt by Mother Jones to call attention to the plight of child laborers. Each day (or group of days) was first discussed with regard to historical aspects; and then analyzed, using the Bowers and Ochs model.

There are two areas of conclusions considered in this study. The first concerns Mother Jones. Her rhetoric can be considered as agitative based on the definition presented by Bowers and Ochs; however, she did not make use of all the strategies. The second area addresses methodological considerations. The model serves an important function in the study of rhetoric. There are, however, serious limitations in the model. The speech must be considered as a more integral part of the agitative process and not relegated to the strategy of "Petition of the Establishment." The strategies are too discrete, and the fact that an event may evidence more than one strategy is not addressed. Finally, the fact that the acceptance of an agitative event by the establishment and the public changes over time and location is not considered by Bowers and Ochs.

**THE DEFIANT LEGACY: SOUTHERN CLERGY AND A  
RHETORIC OF REDEMPTION FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION  
SOUTH** Order No. DA8517735

FULMER, HAL W., Ph.D. *The Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical Col.*, 1985. 221pp. Director: Kaylene A.  
Long

This study investigated the rhetorical activities of the unreconstructed southern Protestant clergy during the Reconstruction period of 1865-1877. These years were marked by great social, psychological, and economic chaos with a variety of southern spokesmen attempting to re-establish a sense of order for the people of the region.

The clergy were an active and dominating force in the region following the Great Awakenings. These clerics were strong supporters of slavery and secession in the antebellum South. Using a theoretical approach from organizational communication, this dissertation suggests that the various southern Reconstruction denominations may be understood as a single Southern Protestant Church in its political views. With such a framework, the denominational rhetoric of this period becomes important elements in sustaining the Southern Protestant Church's role as guardian of order and chief representative of God.

The clergy consistently turned to the past in their efforts to create order. From the definitions and defenses of certain integral aspects of the Old South, audiences were given a hope of cultural redemption to replace the political nationalism which ended at Appomattox.

Specifically, the clergy defined the essence of the Old South as its principles, an ambiguous term around which they clustered distinctly southern images and ideas. These principles endured the military loss and promised to lead the Reconstruction South out of chaos.

The clergy also defended the South's racial policies. Clerical rhetoric offered a temporal vision of order, which defined antebellum slavery and postbellum segregation as reflective of God's will for the region.

Clerics used the death of Robert E. Lee to comment on the Reconstruction period as well. From the mythic images presented in the Lee eulogies, the entire region was sacralized and collectively redeemed.

This research suggests the impact of such clerical rhetoric was profound. The clergy kept alive rhetorically the Old South even in the midst of its political demise. Further, this rhetoric carried strong potential for creating a distinct culture--the sacred South. Such a southern culture, it is argued, extended well into the twentieth century. Therefore, an understanding of the contemporary South must take into account the clerical activities during Reconstruction.

## THE RHETORICAL STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF

MALCOLM X

Order No. DA8516637

GAY, JOHN FRANKLIN, Ph.D. *Indiana University*, 1985. 303pp.

Chairman: James R. Andrews

Malcolm X was one of the most successful speakers in mid-twentieth century America. He was successful primarily because of his ability in *persuasive* speaking, which is traditionally that art studied by the rhetorician. In this dissertation, we investigate Malcolm X's success as a persuasive speaker, with an emphasis on discovering what it is that he did specifically which resulted in his success.

His success will in fact be found to have two major causes. One major cause of his success is his ability, as a persuasive speaker, to direct an overall political movement. Here, we are concerned with his use of what we categorize as rhetorical strategies. The other major cause of his success is his ability to put together the effective speech *per se*. And in this area, we are concerned with his use of what we categorize as rhetorical tactics.

To examine Malcolm X's rhetorical strategies we will employ one of the leading modern theories in speech communication, a theory which may be focused on a political organization as a whole: movement theory. To examine Malcolm X's rhetorical tactics, we will employ the traditional approach to the individual persuasive speech, with an emphasis on classical theory.

In brief, we conclude that Malcolm X was successful as a persuasive speaker because he embodied the best of those principles set forth by rhetorical theorists ancient and modern.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVES TOWARD REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR: THE UNFOLDING OF U.S. OFFICIALS' RHETORICAL EXPERIENCES

Order No. DA8509863

HANUSKO, SANDRA LEE MARY, Ph.D. *The University of Nebraska - Lincoln*, 1984. 197pp. Adviser: James F. Klump

The purpose of this study was to critically examine the diversity in U.S. officials' interpretations of the turmoil in El Salvador. The study examined rhetoric in the *Congressional Record* from March 1980 through March 1982, ending with the merger of congressional concern to demand conditionality for Salvadoran aid. Specifically, the study identified and analyzed the dynamic nature of two rhetorical perspectives in the controversy. Given the complexity of the rhetorical situation, Dramatism became the perspective and method for illumination.

As government officials struggled to interpret the Salvadoran turmoil, two perspectives built around two foreign policy themes evolved: the cold war and human rights. The complexity of the situation resulted in a rhetorical complexity in each perspective.

The cold war perspective, which gained popularity with Reagan's Presidency, was strained by the situation. This resulted in the interweaving of three dramatic variations of the struggle between communism and democracy. First, El Salvador became the momentary battleground for the struggle between Duarte, the symbol of democracy, and communist guerrillas. The second drama broadened the scope of the battle to the Western Hemisphere where El Salvador symbolized the communist entrapment of the U.S. The third drama focused attention on the U.S., and El Salvador symbolized the undercutting of American society by communist propaganda.

The human rights theme emerged as a conceptual framework within the Salvadoran controversy. Strained by the situation, two dramatic scenarios which captured the essence of bloody oppression emerged in the rhetoric. The first drama portrayed El Salvador as a human rights imperative, a battleground between the oppressors and the oppressed. The second drama shifted attention to the immorality of the U.S. role, and El Salvador came to symbolize U.S. intervention in Central America, the undercutting of the democratic Salvadoran process.

The study revealed that a weakened human rights message garnered support for the congressional action amidst the weakened, yet potentially viable claims of communist aggression.

## ROOKER T. WASHINGTON IN ATLANTA REVISITED

MCKENZIE, TAYLOR A., Ph.D. *University of Southern California*, 1985. Chairman: James McBath

Few men in the history of public address have engendered as much controversy as Booker T. Washington. The controversy is primarily occasioned by his Cotton States Exposition speech which was delivered in Atlanta, Georgia, on September 18, 1895. That discourse was one of the most significant concerning race relations in America, and continues to invite analysis and interpretation. The central purpose of this dissertation was to examine the social and political milieu in America during Washington's times (1884-1895) to determine how it shaped his arguments concerning race relations, especially in the Atlanta address. Special emphasis was given to Washington's "separate but equal" idea and how blacks could gain white acceptance. Specifically, the study examined the internal construction of Washington's persuasive strategies and determined the environmental stimuli which impacted them.

Answers were sought to such questions as: Was Washington's Atlanta address astute persuasion for his time, or was it, as hostile critics suggest, a surrender to the white power structure? Can Washington's persuasive and argumentative appeals be characterized as a reflection of his educational training at Hampton Institute? Can it be determined which communicative strategies were most effective for the times--compromise with current prejudices and concentration on economic self-improvement or an insistence for full civil and political equality for blacks? Can it be determined that Washington perceived that he was speaking to the "ideal" black person like himself, and to the "ideal" white person like his mentor at Hampton, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong?

There is little doubt that Washington's racial and educational views were a reflection of Southern beliefs. This study showed, however, that his vision and thus his arguments were circumscribed by a culmination of a malaise in race relations and unresolved issues in the wake of Reconstruction and the Hayes Compromise of 1877. Primarily, the study revealed that Washington's arguments about racial accommodation which resulted in the accusation that he "sold out blacks," were a reflection of beliefs acquired in his training at Hampton Institute under the guidance of General Armstrong. The foundation of this study is that those beliefs dictated the form and character of Washington's rhetoric, especially for the Atlanta Exposition address.

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## AN ANALYSIS OF VALUES EXPRESSED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Order No. DA8514803

MARSHALL, MELVIN JAY, Ph.D. *University of Oregon*, 1985. 136pp.

This study examined the values expressed in the presidential speeches of John F. Kennedy and compared these values with those prevailing in the culture of his time. The speeches were examined using a combination of the value hierarchies of Milton Rokeach and the method of cluster analysis. Values of the prevailing culture were determined by examining the periodical literature, public opinion polling, major social and political issues, and commentaries on public taste during the late 1950's and early 1960's.

The review of the literature surveyed approached to public address criticism emphasizing the importance of ideas and values in public discourse and the context of climate of opinion. The concept of values was drawn from the social sciences as well as from rhetorical study. Especially noted was the idea that if values are the premises by which an audience is persuaded, then public discourse can be viewed as a dialog over values.

Kennedy speeches were selected according to two major criteria: designation as formal "addresses" in the *Public Papers of the President* or degree of response in the news media. Hierarchical analysis of values showed peace, freedom, and national security to be principal terminal values and courageous and responsible as dominant instrumental values. Cluster analysis illustrated how values such as these served as the basis for positions taken on a broad range of issues from civil rights and education to armaments and space exploration.



Analysis of the prevailing culture using periodical literature, public opinion polls, and scholarly writing revealed a context that closely matched Kennedy values and issues. Among these were concern with finding a renewed sense of national purpose, domestic issues such as civil rights, employment, and education, and new interest in public service, the arts, science, and current events.

The results of the study showed a relationship between the values in the presidential speeches of John F. Kennedy and many of the values and issues of his time. Further research was suggested to explore the nature of the interaction or dialog between Kennedy and the public where a specific issue is used to develop or extend a common value.

#### A RHETORICAL CRITICISM OF WOMEN'S MUSIC AND THE LESBIANFEMINIST MOVEMENT

Order No. DA8509870

NOGLE, VICTORIA LOUISE, PH.D. *The University of Nebraska - Lincoln*, 1984. 191pp. Adviser: James F. Klumpp

This dissertation examined the lesbianfeminist rhetoric found in women's music, at concerts, and in alternative presses to discern the interactions between women's music and the Lesbianfeminist social-cultural movement. The approach to the understanding is dramatic.

Communication is the active force creating, maintaining, and eliminating social-cultural movements. A movement must use communicative strategies to complete rhetorical tasks--declaring its differences from the established social order in the public realm, setting forth its critical analysis of the current social order, presenting its vision for a new social order, reaching potential movement members, and nurturing already committed members. This study argued that the lesbianfeminist rhetoric operating in women's music is one of the primary ways the Lesbianfeminist movement accomplishes the rhetorical tasks necessary for its survival. Analyzing the interactions between women's music and the Lesbianfeminist movement provided insights into the workings of this particular movement, and furthered our general knowledge of social-cultural movements.

#### THE BLACK MUSLIMS: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

Order No. DA8513838

NORMAN, BARBARA ANN, PH.D. *The University of Oklahoma*, 1985. 298pp. Major Professor: L. Brooks Hill

Elijah Muhammad provided leadership to the Nation of Islam from 1915 to 1975. During those years, the quasi-Islamic cult founded by W. D. Fard was transformed into a viable social movement which ultimately matured as an institutionalized religious organization. In the 1990s, national media attention focused on the protest rhetoric of Malcolm X. As a result of the mediated image, he attained a persona which represented the social goals of the Movement. The evolution of the educational and social goals helped to create a subcommunity of believers who shared a rhetorical fantasy based on a religious myth of racial superiority--a nation within a nation. The leaders became social-change agents in an ongoing persuasive campaign designed to change Black self-concepts and behaviors. As a consequence of these changes, the leaders sought to effect change in the attitudes of white Americans with the ultimate goal of increasing the relative social, economic, and political power of the poor, urban Black. An analysis of the major themes, stylistic devices, and dissemination techniques which constituted the rhetorical campaign reveals the evolution of strategy and tactics. Using the framework of the Coleman Model of Social Change, this study explicates the process by which liabilities and deficits shared by urban poor Blacks were converted into real or perceived assets.

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHRISTIAN CONVERSION AND THE RHETORIC OF MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

Order No. DA8514813

SPENCER, GREGORY HORTON, PH.D. *University of Oregon*, 1985. 416pp.

This study examines the influence of religious conversion on rhetoric. After a review of the nature of Christian conversion and the nature of religious rhetoric, Malcolm Muggeridge's rhetoric is analyzed through selected features of his invention, style, and arrangement. First, sixty years of Muggeridge's public and private discourse are investigated for correspondence to the five stages of conversion outlined in the review of Christian conversion. Second, one essay or speech from each stage is studied in detail for clues of the influence of Muggeridge's conversion upon his rhetoric.

The stages of conversion which provided a structure for this study are: (1) Contact with the Christian Vision, (2) Confrontation with the Christian Alternative, (3) Conflict with the Christian Calling, (4) Commitment to the Christian Deity, and (5) Communion with the Christian Life. The examination of Muggeridge's rhetoric according to these stages proved to be consistent with these trends, and provided evidence of a gradual Christianization of his rhetoric. A transcript of a personal interview with Muggeridge is provided as an appendix.

#### THE FUNCTION OF NATURAL LAW WARRANTS IN THE RHETORICAL DISCOURSE OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 1848-1920

Order No. DA8507992

SWARTS, VALERIE RENEE, PH.D. *The University of Iowa*, 1984. 243pp. Supervisor: Joel A. Lyne

The functions of natural law warrants in the arguments of the women's suffrage movement are examined in this study. Suffragists argued from principle in seeking adherence to the claim that the right to vote belonged equally to men and women. They characterized the elective franchise as a natural right granted by the Creator, pertaining to all citizens alike. The hypothesis advanced in this study is that natural law warrants were enlisted as a principal rhetorical response to the alleged injustices created by denying women the elective franchise.

The natural law, posed as superior in authority to the positive law, has been used throughout history to solve problems or justify decisions. It has been said to dictate certain rights, described as inherent, sacred, and pertaining absolutely to individuals. American political thinkers enlisted the use of natural law warrants to claim certain rights in connection with the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, the first state constitutions, the Federal Constitution, and the slavery debates.

The rhetorical discourse examined in this study includes speeches, reports, letters, congressional documents, court transcripts, and convention proceedings derived from contributors to the women's suffrage movement. Consideration is given to the rhetorical-historical climate in which the suffrage struggle emerged, the specific arguments advanced by suffragists, the ways in which natural law theory was used to justify women's enfranchisement, and the functions of the natural law warrants enlisted.

Suffragists operated within the tradition of natural law, while also enlisting that tradition to establish backing for their claim that women were entitled to the elective franchise. Suffragists argued that women were responsible unto themselves, members of the human race, and entitled to the same basic rights as men. They also contended that in a republican form of government the people were the governing authority, and that women represented a part of the people. Natural law provided the rationale undergirding the suffragists' demand for women's enfranchisement.

**"A POLITICAL REVIVALIST:" THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF  
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, 1866-1945      Order No. DA8516663**  
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Hiram Warren Johnson of California ranked high among the leaders of the progressive movement and for more than thirty-five years he enjoyed success as a major political figure. As the first governor of California to be reelected for a second term, (1910-1916), Johnson was a leading progressive in the country.

Johnson entered national politics in 1912 as major supporter of Theodore Roosevelt, and because of his keynote address protesting the proceedings of the National Republican Convention he played an important role in the birth of the National Progressive Party. As the direct result of his reputation as both a leading progressive and a superior speaker he was nominated as T.R.'s running-mate. Even though the campaign ended in failure, it proved to be the largest percentage of a vote ever given to a third party in the history of the nation.

In 1915, Johnson was elected to the United States Senate where he remained until his death in 1945. During his terms in the Senate Johnson played an influential role in the development of foreign policy. The League of Nations controversy was probably the high point of Johnson's career. As President Wilson's most formidable foe on the stump, Johnson played a crucial role in the eventual defeat of the treaty. Johnson was undeniably a major spokesman against American involvement in foreign affairs. He was responsible for the passage of the Johnson Act, the first of the many neutrality acts passed by Congress prior to World War II.

The purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to a greater understanding of Hiram W. Johnson and his role as a speaker in the progressive movement and foreign policy as well as other critical issues between 1910-1945. This work centers on Johnson's rhetorical style, delivery, arrangement, speech preparation, arguments, evidence, and refutation. This work incorporates a critical-descriptive method combined with traditional forms of rhetorical criticism. The chapters are divided chronologically into major issues and periods of Johnson's career, along with a conclusion explaining why Johnson was successful as a candidate in state politics, but not in national.

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